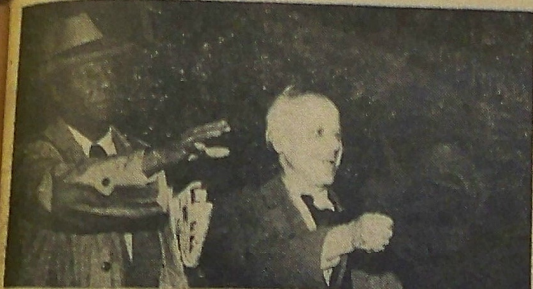


TOURING THE FAR EAST



Norman Thomas and A. Philip Randolph en route to Japan, where they spoke in Tokyo under auspices of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Following a week's visit in Japan, Randolph, who is President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, went to Paris to participate in the month-long celebration of the achievements of democratic culture. Continuing a tour of the Far East, Thomas is visiting Hongkong, Thailand, Burma, Malay, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Hawaii.

On his return to the United States, Thomas will be guest of honor at a dinner tendered to him by the Socialist Party. The dinner will be held at the Hotel Commodore, 42nd Street and Lexington Avenue, at 6:30 p.m. on Tuesday evening, June 17. Reservations can be made by telephoning GR 7-5970 or GR 3-4286. The price is \$6.50.

'Norman Thomas' First-Hand Account

Behind Tokyo's May Day Riot

By NORMAN THOMAS

TOKYO, May 5—My companion, Phil Randolph, and I could write a small volume on our impressions of Japan if our schedule gave us time. We have been most hospitably treated. We have taken part in round table discussions; talked to university students and at a public lecture; been interviewed for the press and over the air; spent very rewarding hours with local union leaders in coal and steel towns on the island of Kyushu. But we did not speak at the great May Day celebration.

You will have read enough and maybe more than enough about the Tokyo riots on May Day. They were Communist instigated and Communist led. They involved several thousand people but only relatively a small portion of the vast May Day outpouring of organized workers. Neither Japan nor the labor movement is to be judged by them. The general reaction has been one of condemnation.

Nevertheless, the riots were very disquieting in what they portend unless the labor movement and the divided Socialists will rouse themselves to effective counter education and organization. At the moment, Socialists are far more numerous than Communists, but they, especially the left Socialists, by a rather uncritical collaboration and use of communist slogans are lending themselves to the old communist strategy. I saw on May Day the beginning of an old play in new dress, a play that in many European countries has had a tragic end. The end in Japan need not be tragic. The labor movement is strong and the whole democratic.

Much of the trouble arises from the popular socialist doctrine of "neutralism." This is something more than a praise-worthy hatred of war and armament. It is a spiritual neutralism which believes, in the face of recent history, that Asia can stay: Neither Washington nor Moscow, neither American democracy nor Russian communism.

May Day proved how the Communists, who are anything but neutralists, can exploit this emotion. In this vast united

Socialist Party Convention
Opens In Cleveland May 30

The Twenty-Eighth National Convention of the Socialist Party will convene at the Hotel Hollenden in Cleveland, Ohio, on Friday, May 30 at 10 a.m. The convention will be opened by National Chairman Darlington Hoopes, and Rev. John Sommerlatte of Cleveland.

Main business before the convention will be the naming of presidential and vice-presidential candidates for the 1952 campaign, and adoption of the Party's platform. Darlington Hoopes of Reading, Pa., previously named as candidate by the National Executive Committee, is the leading contender for the nomination. Samuel H. Friedman of New York has been named by that state as its favorite son.

Convention activities will actually get under way on Thursday, May 29, as delegates begin to arrive in Cleveland. The incumbent National Executive Committee will hold its

last meeting on Thursday afternoon at 1 p.m. in the Hotel. Delegates and members of the Party are invited to attend.

A reception for delegates will be held by the Cleveland Local at the Hotel on Thurs-

BULLETIN!

The American Broadcasting Company network will carry the acceptance speech of the Socialist presidential candidate, from the Cleveland convention, Sunday, June 1, from 11:15 to 11:30 a.m.

day evening. The convention dinner will be held in the Assembly Room of the Hollenden on Saturday, May 31, at 7 p.m. Reservations are \$3.50 a plate.

Rev. Jesse Cavileer of Cleveland will serve as chairman of the dinner.

front demonstration the Communists saw to it that in speeches and slogans only America was attacked, sometimes on the basis of truth, sometimes on the basis of outrageous lies.

In conversation one is rather surprised at the friendly feeling for Americans. One hears plenty of criticism of Stalin for taking the Kurile Islands and holding thousands of Japanese prisoners of war. None of that showed in the May Day meeting. Socialist neutralism was manipulated into communist aggression against not only America but the whole democratic process in Japan and Asia. Unless the Socialists and labor leaders adopt different tactics they may end up with Benes and Masaryk.

The May Day rally was supposedly in large part directed against the threat of reactionary anti-labor legislation from the conservative government. The riots made it more likely, which may be what the Communist leaders wanted. They need an issue. On May Day the police behaved well. So did the Americans, both civilians and soldiers. That hasn't always been true of police or Americans.

No American virtue can stop the Communist drive for power, but American understanding and a sound American policy can mightily help to check it. For instance, our Japanese friends object less to the security treaty than to the way in which it seemed to be forced, without adequate explanation, as the price of the peace treaty. They rightly object to any American dictation of rearmament.

We need to make a stronger case for democracy and against all totalitarianism. Nothing would be more important than the opening of a very strong ICFTU office here. There is much to be done to help, but in the last analysis the Japanese must win their own fight for true freedom.

Meanwhile let me praise the energy and industry of these people, the fine beginning they are making in trade unionism, and the marvellous way they cultivate almost every available inch of soil.

The Challenge To Socialists In 1952

By IRVING BARSHOP

While I am solely responsible for the following statement, I have been associated with Norman Thomas, Aaron Levenstein, Charles Taibi, Meyer Miller, Manny Muravchik, and others in an effort to have the Party adopt a new electoral orientation. Because we believe it likely that a majority of the delegates to the coming convention favor an electoral approach, and will undoubtedly support a 1952 Socialist presidential campaign, we will not contest the matter of electoral policy at the Cleveland convention for the sake of a higher unity, and the negative public relations involved in a fight on this question during a campaign year. However, the electoral aspects of the statement are representative of an important current of Party thought and are of educational value in this pre-convention discussion period.

Never before has Socialism been so misunderstood in this country. The general well-being of Americans compared to other peoples and the fact that Socialism is being deliberately confused in the public mind with totalitarian communism has led to this untenable situation.

Never before has America so needed a politically conscious force to invigorate and replenish social thinking and action. Politically reactionary forces are on the offensive while liberal organization and influence, for all of the "pragmatism" of the liberals, is on the downgrade. Without a vital center to inspire men and women to fight for progressive political ideas, our social gains—largely socialist in conception—are endangered. Liberal Democrats, shackled by Southern bourgeois, corrupt city machines, and the programmatic fidelity of their party to property rights as over human rights, have been unable to move the Democratic Party in a progressive direction.

On the contrary, the link between organized crime and politics today has never been so firm—and the debasement of everything decent by politicians of both parties continues unabated by systematic plundering of the public purse.

In this evil process, the corrupted are too infrequently exposed and punished, while the corruptors go scot free. Who are these corruptors? They are usually business interests seeking extra-legal privileges who are willing to make illegal payments to achieve their ends. Who can deny that the corruptors are at least as guilty as the corrupted?

The leaders and latter-day saints of modern Republicanism would turn the clock back to the horse-and-buggy era. They would fly facts in the face and defy a changing world outlook. They would deny the responsibility of government for human welfare in the name of the phony claim that the state is encroaching on freedom. But they would not cut off aid to industry by the state on the basis of the same claim. The Republican Party is truly the sanctuary of entrenched privilege.

This critical breakdown of political morality and the offensive by reactionaries must be stopped dead in its tracks. The old parties cannot be reformed. Historically, reformers usually have been swallowed up in this morass. While we encourage and welcome oppositions within the two old parties, we firmly believe that their task is hopeless—that at best their efforts will result only in temporary concessions.

America's crying need politically is the organization of a new political party based on democracy and devoted service to human rights. The Socialist Party dedicates itself to that essential purpose. As realists, Socialists cannot view this as an immediate prospect. However, in the educational process for a new political alignment—although the going may be exceedingly rough—step-by-step progress should be made in convincing large sections of politically conscious people. Nor will the organization of this new alignment follow a pre-conceived blueprint. It is altogether possible that this development will not come about as a fully independent political party nationally.

Rather, the movement will be groping, sporadic, and erratic in its direction. The varied and entangled purposes leading in the direction of independent political action can only be channeled by a conscious force which is able to view American politics as a totality rather than in opportunistic terms, or as local, isolated movements. All genuine movements for independence must be encouraged. In the past, we have tended to remain aloof from these stumbling beginnings. We have remained outside the Liberal Party of New York State because of its flirtations with the old parties.

An understanding of its larger usefulness should have convinced us long ago that active and devoted work to convert that party, in spite of many obstacles, should have been undertaken by Socialists. Instead, we have looked upon the Liberal Party's present profile and complexion rather than upon its future possibilities. That in a nutshell illustrates our present futile relationship to the progressive sections of labor who must be won if an independent political party is ever to emerge.

With our present policy, it is most likely when that independent party finally does emerge that Socialists will be on the outside—for which both we and that movement may be much the poorer. We alone can instill those social, moral and economic values without which the new movement will be doomed to a dull, "practical" existence. Useful as that may be, it is not enough to inspire the hearts of men to build a better America based on an ever expanding democracy and an ever rising standard of living.

SP ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS

Electoral, the Socialist Party does not exist. It just is not a serious factor. If anything, our electoral efforts of late have been

rather meaningless. Can we command the continuing allegiance of our old members and recent recruits when we are unable to wage meaningful election campaigns? Except for isolated sections of the country we never participate as a party in local or state electoral activities.

Once every four years, there is an awakening, and with tremendous difficulty we have waged token presidential campaigns, largely as an educational effort. It is clear that organizational limitations and restrictive ballot laws will further tend to curtail our future effectiveness in national elections. Shall we persist in the illusion that we are an electoral party? Or shall we face facts and adjust to the real situation?

With present resources, what kind of campaign can we wage in 1952? Will we be able to get on the ballot in more than fifteen or twenty states? Where are men, money and material support to come from? These are questions which must be answered. Desirability of the objective aside, are we in a position to run a campaign? Within the foreseeable future, the Socialist Party will not be an electoral instrument.

It may run campaigns, and under certain conditions those campaigns may be necessary. On a case basis, the decision to run an occasional campaign should be made. However, it must be recognized that we are not an electoral agency. If we are not an electoral force, what then are we and what are our members and friends to do electorally?

America today needs an equivalent to the British Fabian Society of the 1880's. That is the role we must play to start to win politically aroused sections of the American people to socialism—people who are now alienated from us by what they consider fantastically unreal political action. Ours is a caretaker status for the Socialist ideas we hold dear. Those ideas under our auspices may perish unless we are able to win the allegiance of great numbers of people, or else new groups will develop to foster such ideas.

SOME POSSIBILITIES

We are told that a new depression will cause the rebirth of the American Socialist Party as an electoral factor. That may be so. But can we base policy on an economic upheaval which is not immediately foreseeable? We must be flexible enough to change with the times. At this time, we certainly do not have an electoral potential. In the future, we should be ready to convert into

an electoral instrument based on the possibilities of the moment.

Because we are not an electoral party, our members must have the freedom to participate in the liberal, progressive, labor political activity of today—which is characterized by the Liberal Party, Americans for Democratic Action, CIO's Political Action Committee, AFL's Labor's League for Political Education, etc. Although these groups may move in opposing directions, they represent unorthodox political movements basically exerting pressure on the old parties from the outside. Our activity alongside the members of these groups would place us in a position to work for independent political action.

For us, as Socialists, that should be meaningful political action. As matters now stand, we largely rest between campaigns, and where we do not campaign nothing much happens except an occasional meeting. The program we propose requires daily participation in American political life as it is really lived. There will be no time out. We will become part of the mainstream of political life.

As this type of educational instrumentality, the Socialist Party would be doing intensive research, issuing literature, coordinating the activity of its members in the different organizations, evaluating political platforms, and candidates, and developing political programs for its members to propose. In short, we would be functioning as the nucleus of a new party movement.

Once again, we would start to win over and recruit for the Socialist Party those labor and progressive elements with whom we work and influence. That is our role. By itself, the early announcement of this policy—in contradistinction to our present fruitless electoral orientation—should result immediately in increased membership from among former members and close sympathizers in the labor movement who are for a new party, but who do not see themselves as supporting token electoral campaigns.

MODERN SOCIALISM

Modern democratic Socialism has been transformed into a dynamic social philosophy based on human dignity since the halcyon days of Karl Marx's economic man. The impact of totalitarian communism and Nazism have hastened this development. Socialism today is libertarian in content, utilizing the state to further the welfare of the people while guarding against the encroachments of the big state.

Socialism in power in Great Britain, Sweden, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere has strongly held to this essential principle. This changed concept of modern Socialism, with its acceptance of a mixed economy, various forms of social ownership, and the respect for the human personality, can successfully challenge its detractors in the market place of ideas.

Similarly, in foreign affairs the American Socialist Party has been changing its attitude over the years. In the cold war between the West and the Soviet Union assuredly we are not neutral. We are on the side of the Western nations, which represent a chance for the extension of democracy whereas the Soviet Union represents the drive by the extinction of democracy. However, we are dedicated to a prevention of this war.

Hopefully, a program of universal, enforceable disarmament may be adopted to stave off this dreadful and vastly destructive atomic war. But we surely are not for unilateral disarmament by the Western Powers in the face of present Russian military might. While war may be temporarily postponed through various expedients and concessions, war may ultimately break out so long as the totalitarians in the Kremlin remain in control. Reliance on military preparation alone is insufficient to keep the Statists in check.

We must encourage the oppressed Soviet peoples and the peoples of the satellite countries to fight for their freedom. The democratic revolution of these enslaved people must be encouraged. Only in this democratic revolution is there hope for lasting peace. For it will either be democratic revolution or international war. Careful thought has to be given to an evaluation and development of such a democratic revolutionary program. American Socialists, considering their radical heritage, can play an impressive role here in formulation of this doctrine.

We are challenged during this period of declining strength and influence to rebuild our movement. The old ways have failed. Do we have the necessary courage to lay new tracks, to make a new beginning to bring us closer to labor people, liberals and progressives? Or shall we be weighed down by the dead hand of tradition and precedent? We need imagination and courage. That is the challenge to us as thinking people.

Sidney Vyorst - Agent

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Discussion

A Proposed Socialist Program For Peace

By JACK CYPIN

The reaction to the North Korean invasion indicated clearly that both Washington and Moscow had under-estimated the vital importance of the UN. Washington by failing to realize how important our foreign policy would be without it and at the last minute forced us to decide upon defending an area which they had already written off. Moscow by failing to understand the degree of support the UN commanded among even the most neutral minded nations.

The Politburo attempted to justify its blunder by sending Soviet representatives back to the UN and keeping its direct intervention in Korea to the minimum necessary to avoid further involvement. It also attempted to increase Chinese dependence upon them further by persuading them to become involved in the fighting to save the North Koreans after the Russians failed them.

The success of Stalin in getting Mao to pull his chestnuts out of the fire in Korea has exaggerated all the worst weaknesses of the Truman-Acheson policy. The present hysterical overemphasis upon armaments and alliance has again relegated the UN to a subordinate position as far as U.S. policy is concerned. What little political sanity still remains here stems largely from the frantic search for a peaceful way out by various UN members in various parts of the world outside the Soviet orbit. Socialists in Britain, India and several other nations have played and are playing a vital role in the attempt to find a political policy which will avoid provoking World War III without rewarding the threat of using force a la Munich.

A SOCIALIST PROGRAM

Under such critical conditions it seems essential for the American Socialist Party to come out with a program which firmly rejects the inevitability of war. This involves a rejection of both the isolationist and the "containment" viewpoint, since both, by their excessive emphasis upon armaments show that they are permeated with nationalism and incapable of utilizing the UN as a force for peace.

We must attempt to put together the best proposals that have been offered anywhere to date by both Socialists and non-Socialists to point a way out of the vortex of nationalistic rivalries in which we are captives. Only thus can we hope to make possible the peaceful conditions necessary for the development of a world commonwealth with democratic control over social change through cooperative planning and control over production.

The following proposals are minimal and tentative. They are open to all kinds of correction in emphasis, phrasing and degree of detail. Other proposals might be added with great gain for the program. But it seems to me that unless they are all included as part of a Third Position by the Socialist movement on a world scale, they will not help too much in regaining the political initiative from the Stalinists on one hand or the "anti-communist" authoritarians on the other.

This must be part of a peace

offensive which exposes them both and wins the support of people everywhere, including the frightened liberals in the U.S. who seem almost ready to jump from a policy of containment to one of provocation.

SIX POINT PLAN

1. Political agreements must be made involving any reasonable concession to China and the Soviet Union.

These could involve such things as recognition of Peiping in the UN, free elections in Formosa and Korea under UN auspices, the withdrawal of both U.S. and Chinese troops from Korea, resumption of trade with China by the West, setting up of free Indo-Chinese and Malay governments under the UN.

In Europe, this could involve postponing German rearmament (also Japan's), setting up a unified federal Germany under UN auspices with the removal of occupation troops and free elections, abrogation of the North Atlantic Pact and its replacement by a neutral United States of Western Europe protected by the promise of the U.S. or USSR to intervene should the other invade (as well as a unified defense force), the cooperation of Britain as a member of this federal union.

2. Agreements upon levels of armaments must be made, including both conventional and weapons of mass destruction (atomic and bacterial).

3. United Nations inspectors must have full access to all installations which can be used for military preparations.

This would involve the right of Russian inspectors in the U.S. and vice versa. It would be a tremendous concession for an authoritarian state to make and could not be made unless the Politburo was convinced that there were no aggressive intentions harbored against them.

4. The UN to receive from its members and allocate massive funds for a program to lift living standards in the industrially under-developed areas.

This could be a program involving billions of dollars a year which would have the UN rather than any national government help people help themselves to industrialize and utilize scientific knowledge for construction. It would appeal strongly to people under Soviet autocracy.

5. Through the UN, techniques must be developed and spread to draw the people into the cooperative planning needed to raise living standards and establish economic stability.

Socialists should be able to make outstanding contributions in this field.

6. The door must always remain open to participation for

Neither Moscow Nor Washington

By YEEN DAVIDSON

At times it seems that those who disagree with the belief that the Socialist Party should take a Third Camp position of foreign policy deliberately refuse to understand what we are saying in defense of that belief. Take for instance the title of this article, the much maligned slogan of the Reading statement. According to the opposition, it has two great faults. First, "It equates Moscow and Washington." This is simply not true—over and over we have pointed out to them that this is not true and has no logical foundation. To reject both vanilla and chocolate ice cream, in favor of strawberry, is not to say that I think chocolate and vanilla are the same thing.

Secondly, and this is the favorite of the bureaucracy, "It is a Trotskyite slogan for a Trotskyite position." I don't keep up with the Trotskyite press and activity like our detractors must, therefore I cannot say whether the Trotskyites use the slogan or not.

I can say much more about the position. For after many cor-

rections, the same lie is used, that it is for a Third Camp Socialist policy is to be a Trotskyite (an honor unfitting the Trotskyites). We patiently point out that, as a matter of fact, the Socialist Party in California and elsewhere has taken an anti-war third camp position from the very beginning, and without many of us knowing that there was such an animal as a Schachtmanite, and many more of us not knowing or caring what their position was.

One can just about finish documenting these facts when our opposition will come back with "But why do you take your position from the Trotskyites?" At this point you see why we begin to wonder if they are deliberately distorting facts.

What do we mean? Well, when I say Neither Moscow Nor Washington, I mean this. That I reject completely the leadership of Moscow in world affairs—No further explanation is needed for Socialists. That I reject Washington, not because it is equal to Moscow, but because it is far inferior to Moscow in the battle for minds and bodies that is

going on in the world.

When we are faced with as barbaric a threat as Stalinism, it is incredible that some would have us support the stupidity of Washington which has aided over and over the forces of Stalin by its support to imperialist forces in the colonial area, and its building of the capitalist interest in Europe.

More important than this is the fact that Washington is not fighting a principled war against totalitarianism that we as Socialists can support. Can a principled fight include Franco, Peron, Rhee or Chiang Kai-shek? No, Washington is interested only that it is Washington and not Moscow that directs the future of the world.

Yes, we say Neither Moscow Nor Washington! We think that free men everywhere in the world agree with us. We believe that as Socialists we can put forward a way of fighting Stalinism that is not only with guns, but based on mutual aid and trust of the peoples throughout the world. This is what I ask the convention to consider and to work out into a program.

FORUM and Agin 'Em

More On Philly

To the Editor:

Permit me a brief reply to Ruth J. Hoffman's criticism of my article, "Reform in Philly." I was not criticizing the new administration per se, but I was pointing out instances where ADA members had obtained higher paying jobs than Democratic ward leaders. A columnist for a local daily devoted two columns to this subject, but no ADA'ers publicly objected to his disclosures.

Why all the indignation? Prominent Philadelphia ADA'ers I could quote have told me, "Why be shocked if some of our people get good jobs? That's why they are in politics." Well, I am interested in a program and a philosophy for ADA and for organized labor.

As to meetings in the evening, which workers can attend, my experience has been that in many cases, they have not been held, or held at inconvenient times. City-wide committee meetings are the worst offenders.

My criticism of Americans for Democratic Action is that it doesn't attract rank and file trade unionists, except around election time. Are there more than one or two rank and file trade unionists in the large local executive committee? As for grass roots support, despite its not having the socialist stigma, the local and national ADA have

any nation which has refused to participate.

This would put tremendous pressure, eventually, upon autocratic governments which would not cooperate and whose people must be told how much they lose.

no larger membership than the Socialist Party in the early 1930's.

Miss Hoffman and I disagree as to whether the Quaker City has "undergone a political revolution." Mayor Joseph S. Clark claims he is a conservative liberal and reformer, and I am willing to believe his evaluation of his administration — not Miss Hoffman's.

The CALL has allowed Miss Hoffman to criticize my article. I wonder if the ADA World would allow me to point out that in a recent article about Philly's ADA executive secretary, not a word was mentioned about his political past. He was once a Socialist, and proud of it. Is distortion of history revolutionary?

WALTER R. STOREY
Philadelphia, Pa.

Socialist Appeal

To the Editor:

Couched in simple and not too ambiguous words the definition of the term "to produce emotion" is "to excite mental feeling." It is therefore apparent that the criticism (March 28) of the two very excellent letters in the previous issue revolves around the meaning of the word "emotion."

I quite agree with the critic that in propagating Socialism—I think that the writers of the two criticized letters would also agree—we should avoid appealing to base, sordid, narrow, shallow or petty emotionalism. Our use of the emotional appeal should be based upon deep-seated, well thought out convictions. Pure logic has its place but before it can result in action it must "excite mental feeling."

Resentment against the injustices of capitalism is emotion. Those with a spark of good will—all great religions agree that there is that divine spark in all of us—who have made a sincere study of these injustices become disturbed to the point of action.

We cannot make Socialists without appealing to emotions. This appeal must rest upon "clear thinking," be "rational," and be the result of correct interpretations of what is most desirable in human relationships in social, economic and political affairs.

It is impossible to translate the cold logic of factual information into positive action for socialism without "exciting mental feeling." May our emotional appeals ever be made on the high plane of a sense of justice and fair play, the desire for peace, the need for brotherhood, and not the destructiveness of hate but the constructiveness of love!

PAUL F. ALBRIGHT
Hollywood, California

Thomas Tour

To the Editor:

I am thrilled to see in your issue of April 11 that Norman Thomas is to address a May Day rally in Tokyo and to visit other countries in Asia. I think of no one who could more worthily represent the best in American life than Norman Thomas. He will be an ideal ambassador of goodwill. That's what we need!

The re-election of Mayor Frank Zeidler of Milwaukee is heartening as showing the city's independence of McCarthyism and refusal to confuse socialism with Communism.

JOHN C. GRANBERY
Editor, The Emancipator
San Antonio, Texas

The Feinberg Law And New York's Teachers

By ROBERT D. BLOOM

(Robert D. Bloom has been active in the N.Y. Teachers Guild, AFL.)

The United States Supreme Court by a 6 to 3 vote struck a serious blow at academic freedom last month when it upheld the constitutionality of the Feinberg "anti-subversive" Law. In doing so, the Court made itself a party to the attack on teachers now going on in New York schools. The Court had the opportunity of stating that this law, in its attempt to purge New York schools of Communists, would inevitably result in frightening teachers into expressing only safe and orthodox opinions lest they become subjects of investigation. But instead, it chose to legalize this attack on freedom of speech.

The Feinberg Law directs the New York State Board of Regents to promulgate a list of organizations which it finds to be subversive. The Board is directed to issue regulations holding that membership in any such organization is prima facie evidence of disqualification to hold any position in the public school system. The Regents are further required to make annual reports to the State Legislature of its activities to enforce the statute.

When the law went into effect, the Board of Regents promulgated a set of regulations which called for intensive loyalty investigations of each candidate for a teaching position, annual reports on the loyalty of each individual teacher, and the preferring of charges by local school officials where evidence exists that a teacher is disloyal or has been or is now a member of an organization listed as subversive.

Now that the constitutionality of the law has been upheld, the Regents have placed these regulations in operation, as well as the machinery set up under them. Bruce Bromley, member of a conservative law firm, has been appointed to establish the list of subversive organizations. He is also a member of the three-man state commission which is investigating school textbooks for seditious matter.

It is true that the Board of Regents will probably afford an opportunity of hearing for organizations before they are finally listed as subversive. It is likewise true that a teacher against whom charges are brought will be given a formal hearing with the right to counsel, the right to subpoena witnesses, present witnesses in his own behalf, to cross-examine opposing witnesses, and to appeal from an adverse finding. It is altogether likely that the forms of legal procedure will be scrupulously followed, particularly because of the extent of the opposition since the law's enactment in 1949.

N.Y. TIMES VIEW

Despite these provisions for hearings, even those who believe that a Communist is unfit to teach in the public schools have attacked the Feinberg Law. The New York Times in an editorial on March 5, 1952 stated:

"Before the measure was finally approved at Albany this newspaper attacked it as a 'blunderbuss' bill and warned that the Legislature was 'enacting into law the untenable and illiberal theory of "guilt by association." In the three years since then we have seen no reason to alter that opinion. . . . it would seem wiser and more in keeping with the American spirit to judge teachers on the basis of their conduct in the classroom, rather than on the basis of fringe organizations to which they may or may not have belonged to in the past."

"We don't want Communist teachers in the schools; but we don't want legislation such as the Feinberg Law to lend cover to a system of scholastic espionage or intellectual terrorism worthy of a police state. We don't want to see teachers frightened into giving expressions only to what is safe, what is orthodox, what is popular at the moment. We don't want to see our children become nodding little robots."

"If the clean light of freedom in the classroom ever becomes dimmed a major disaster will have befallen America; and the advocates of totalitarianism —

whether Communist or some other kind makes no difference—will have won their battle without firing a shot."

It is common knowledge that loyalty investigations and loyalty oaths have turned up few Communists. First, because the number of Communists, whether in the schools or elsewhere, is extremely small. (Testimony of J. Edgar Hoover before a Senate Appropriations subcommittee in 1950; statement of Dr. William Jansen, New York City Superintendent of Schools in the New York World-Telegram Sun, February 1, 1952) Second, because

Communists are old hands at evasion, duplicity and subterfuge.

LAWS AVAILABLE

For a number of years New York State has had laws providing for the removal of teachers guilty of treasonable or seditious words or acts and for the removal of all public employees who advocate the overthrow of the government by unlawful means. (Education Law, Section 3021; Civil Service Law, Section 12a) If a real Communist menace existed in our public schools, these laws would have provided a legal basis for proceeding against it.

The greatest danger of the Feinberg Law is its provision for annual individual reports on the loyalty of teachers. Teachers will no longer feel free to express ideas at variance with those of the majority, lest some overzealous student or a vengeful supervisor may misinterpret their statements and accuse them of

Communist utterances, thereby subjecting them to even more intensive surveillance. Conformity will be the rule.

Mr. Justice Douglas in his noteworthy dissent described what we may expect:

"Where suspicion fills the air and holds scholars in line for fear of their jobs, there can be no exercise of the free intellect. . . . 'Supineness and dogmatism take the place of inquiry. A 'party line'—as dangerous as the 'party line' of the Communists—lays hold. It is the 'party line' of the orthodox view, of the conventional thought, of the accepted approach."

"A problem can no longer be pursued with impunity to its edges. Fear stalks the classroom. The teacher is no longer a stimulant to adventurous thinking; she becomes instead a pipe line for safe and sound information."

"A deadening dogma takes the place of free inquiry. Instruction tends to become sterile. Pursuit of knowledge is discouraged; discussion often leaves off where it should begin."

Liberal anti-Communist teachers have already reported that many of their colleagues have begun to weigh their words carefully; they have avoided controversial subjects even more sedulously than before; they hesitate to express their real opinions, not only to their students, but to their colleagues. The insecurity and fear of the Lusk Law and Palmer Raids period of the early 1920's has returned.

TEACHERS INHIBITED

Under these conditions, teaching is not a field which can hope to attract those who would make the best teachers—the teachers whom a student remembers in later years because they made him think. These would-be teachers are seeking other fields where independence and originality of thought are sought after instead of being suppressed.

And our children are the losers, too. Orthodox textbooks and cowed teachers can never educate them to deal intelligently with the problems which they will face when they leave school.

The enactment of the Feinberg Law and the setting up of elaborate machinery to ferret out a few Communists in our schools is like using an atom bomb in a crowded city to destroy a nest of termites. And like the atom bomb, the Feinberg Law has after-effects which are incalculable.

A campaign for the repeal of the Law has been initiated. While immediate success is unlikely, persistent effort in this direction will help end the period of unreasoning fear in which we, and more particularly, our teachers, are living.

Need Feb. 15, 29 Socialist Calls

The SOCIALIST CALL would appreciate receiving copies of the issues of Feb. 15 and 22, 1952. These are needed to complete our files, and to make possible the binding of the 1952 SOCIALIST CALL.

A Refusal To Sign A Teacher Loyalty Oath In Pennsylvania

Robert Repas, long active as a trade unionist and in the field of civil rights, and currently a director of the labor section of the American Friends Service Committee, last month refused to sign the so-called "Loyalty Oath" demanded of all Pennsylvania teachers. Repas, a part-time employee of the Board of Education at Philadelphia, in refusing to sign the oath, submitted the following statement to Albert A. Owens, Director of School Extension of the Philadelphia Board of Education:

I cannot accept the widespread doctrine which says a person employed in public service, automatically becomes a second class citizen and loses certain civil liberties. In an age of growing hysteria, legislation like the Pechan Bill can result in closing the avenues of freedom which are so vital to the teaching profession. Teachers operating within such a framework must then be primarily concerned not with what and how they teach, but with what they think.

The result is that discussions of controversial issues will inevitably be restricted in order to safeguard one's livelihood. The criterion for a teacher is no longer professional competence but his or her professional and philosophical beliefs. Limitations upon the right to think and say are thought control methods contrary to a democratic society.

Because teachers realize "knowing" membership in a subversive organization can mean dismissal, more and more of them fear to join organizations because they may be forced to explain that membership at some later date. Unfortunately, the Attorney General has still the authority to list subversive organizations without any hearings.

What a tragedy should this power ever fall into the hands of a reckless demagogue like Senator McCarthy. Voluntary, social, political, and economic organizations have been pioneers in the development of new ideas and measures. Hampering their development by making teachers fearful of participating would be deplorable. This is a guilt by association kind of prosecution which assumes a person guilty until proven innocent—a direct

opposite of our normal concept of justice.

CONTRIBUTE TO HYSTERIA

The most dangerous effect of the Pechan Bill is that it contributes to the general hysteria. Some of the logical development's from this kind of policy in schools are book burnings, refusal to allow controversial figures to speak on school campuses, expulsion of students, bans on meetings and literature, etc. Cases of this kind have already occurred.

This kind of legislation also contributes to the hysteria affecting those outside of the teaching profession: individuals because of their beliefs have been deprived of work in defense industries; legislation has been passed forbidding their residence in given communities; excessive bail has been set in court cases and in some instances, actual violence against them has occurred. The net result may very well be that individuals will be deprived of the right to earn a livelihood not only in public but also in private employment not because of what they do, but because of what they say.

NO COMMUNIST

Although not a communist nor an advocate of the overthrow of the government by force and violence, I cannot sign an oath which makes the holder of these views ineligible for public employment. Mere advocacy is no crime, as the Supreme Court for many years pointed out under its doctrine of "clear and present danger"—a position still upheld by at least two of the present court justices.

This fear of revolution seems

peculiar to a country born out of revolution and which, in the last war, urged Germans to overthrow their government and now has appropriated money to aid forces in Soviet satellites who are attempting to do the same thing. The justification given for this export policy regarding German and Soviet governments is that they were not democratically selected, therefore revolution was justified. But the right to decide whether or not a government is democratic should be the right of the individual citizen, whether in Germany, the Soviet Union or the United States.

INTENT QUESTIONED

The intent behind this kind of legislation should also be taken into consideration. Individuals and organizations most apt to be supporting it in many cases, have been leading opponents of any effort made by members of the teaching profession to examine critically our political and economic institutions. As defenders of the status quo, they have harassed any efforts at individual criticism of our society.

The Pechan Bill cannot even be justified on the grounds of effectiveness, since no subversive would be deterred by signing an oath nor would even hesitate about perjuring himself on that account. Compelling each teacher to make a public profession of his loyalty in no way gets at the basic problem of eliminating subversives.

My refusal to sign the oath is based upon the fact that the Pechan Bill curtails civil liberties, contributes to hysteria and is useless for the purpose designed.

The SOCIALIST CALL

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Bevan On Bevanism

PLACE OF FEAR. By Aneurin Bevan. Simon and Schuster. \$3.00. Like most books written by prominent politicians, Aneurin Bevan's "In Place of Fear" is more interesting for what it reveals about the author than for the clarity it brings to the discussion of current dilemmas. The book comes alive, in fact, only in those passages where Bevan talks about the struggles of the Welsh in the early 1920s and the subsequent ups and downs of the British labor movement.

One of the things that Bevan learned early in life was that the working class could not have its bread and butter demands, let alone Socialism, by the union action alone. Following the failure of the General Strike of 1926, this young minister turned all his attention to the political side of the movement. Parliamentary fame came early and his huge majorities in his own constituency provided him a safe platform.

When Labor came to power in 1945, Bevan was entrusted with the job of rehousing Britain and inaugurating the National Health Service. He did both jobs the second brilliantly. Even in the Cabinet he was the man in the safe seat. His energies were concentrated upon the sort of constructive work which, quite simply, is most dear to the hearts of Socialists.

His colleagues, Attlee, Morrison, Cripps and Bevan had to divert most of their attention to the less pleasant business of maintaining Britain's economic and political position in a turbulent world. Of course, as a Cabinet Member and as one of the Party's big five, Bevan was acquainted with the difficulties which his team mates were meeting. That he made some contribution to the whole program of the Labor Government is well known.

But he never quite had to face the hard facts of the mid-twentieth century as they did. When the rearmament program threatened Labor's social gains, he took a new look at the larger world, that he and his colleagues were not masters of Britain's fate and resigned from the government.

It is the same feeling of frustration which characterizes, "In Place of Fear" haunts many an avowed Socialist in Britain and throughout the world. This, even more than the government's obviously bad effects on living standards, is the source of the man's strength.

Bevan's experience, unfortunately, does not enlighten him much about problems outside the scope of the Ministry of Health. Trade Union relations, industrialized and privately owned industries about which

the British labor movement learned many new lessons during the rule of the Labor Government, seemed to have escaped his notice.

For all his "leftism" and his occasional ill-considered slurs against the socialist fervor of his fellow leaders, Bevan is quite prepared to concede that much of British industry must remain in private hands. How a future Labor government can improve upon the Attlee government's record of harnessing the private sector to the public interest, or improving the workers' status within private industry, are also questions to which Bevan's contribution is a very limited one. It is indeed a tragedy that this brilliant politician and unquestionably sincere democratic socialist should have so little guidance to offer us.

NO SYMPATHY FOR STALIN

No one to the left of Senator McCarthy, who studies this book can accuse Bevan of any sympathy for Soviet Communism. His analysis of Stalinist Russia is penetrating and his value judgments are those of a democrat. Yet, when Bevan comes to discuss how Britain and America should meet the Communist threat, his proposals do not seem to be as much projections of his analysis of Russia, America and the Far East as indications of the frustrations which to some degree we all feel in this world we did not intend to make.

Bevan is neither a neutralist nor a pacifist. He recognizes that, in part at least, the Soviet threat is a military one which demands some level of rearmament in the West. He thinks that, for the time being, an agreement with Russia for internationally controlled disarmament is impossible of attainment. Disturbed at the prospect of an all-out arms race, he proposes that the Western Powers proclaim that on a given date they will begin diverting a specified percentage of their defense budgets to assisting the economic development of the more backward countries.

Russia, he suggests, should be invited to share in this effort. Bevan also believes that more attention should be given to the development of the United Na-

Books In Review

Life And Death In Russia

THE TIME OF THE ASSASSINS. By Godfrey Blunden. Lippincott. \$3.75.

With the appearance in 1947 of "The Room on the Route" by Godfrey Blunden, American readers were presented with a novel that was particularly remarkable. Mr. Blunden, an Australian war correspondent who had served in Russia, as well as in the European Theater of Operations, had written a work which delved into the life of Stalin's Russia with an awareness which no other work by a non-Russian had achieved. Moreover, unlike the work of those writers who had fled Russia in the first years of the Revolution, Mr. Blunden's novel showed a familiarity with the psychological problems of a generation which had known only the pervasive terror of the Stalin regime. It was an authentic portrayal of ordinary Russians subjected to the strains of a massive dictatorship.

"The Time of the Assassins," Blunden's second novel dealing with life in Stalin's Russia, has now been published. While it lacks some of the intensity of "The Room of the Route," its compass is so much broader that it becomes not only a novel about the Soviet Union, but one of the most distinctive works to have come out of the Second World War. "The Time of the Assassins" describes the period early in war when the city of Kharkov in the Ukraine was under the control of German troops.

Before the Nazis can effect their plans for total occupation, sections of the population, including fanatical party Stalinists, anti-Stalinists, and persons of no strong political beliefs, are faced with a major psychological and political crisis. There are no orders from above to follow! It is a brief moment of freedom for a population caught in a dic-

tions and less to such "bloes of power" as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

This—not his criticisms of the current speed of rearmament—seems the weakest point in Bevan's argument. One can well agree with him that Russia does not desire a third world war and therefore admit that the pace of rearmament can be reduced without sharing his illusion—which his own analysis of the nature of the Russian state disproves—that Russia will in good faith cooperate anywhere in the world with the democracies.

It is regrettable that Bevan has not come forward with a program for giving more social and economic content to the North Atlantic Alliance and proposals for immediate coordinated democratic assistance to the under-developed parts of the world.

There is good reason to hope that the future foreign policy of the British Labor Party will run along these lines. Most of its leaders are as unwilling as is Bevan himself to be maneuvered into a senseless war in Asia. While recognizing the necessity for continuing enough of a rearmament program to convince Russia that more armed adventures will not pay off, they have no intention of ignoring the needs of Asia and Africa nor of permitting the erosion of British living standards, which is taking place under the Tory government, to continue. One wishes that Bevan were the advance guard of such a clarification of British Labor policy and a bulwark to the movement's morale rather than the advocate of the fuzzy proposals outlined in "In Place of Fear."

ROBERT BEGG

lators. Through the interweaving of the plight of a child of twelve who feels instinctively that Stalinism is evil, of an adolescent whose sole source of faith is Stalinism, of a school teacher who derives from a tradition which still values humanity and compassion, Blunden describes the complex underground in the Nazi occupation of a Russian city. Adding to the complexity of the situation—both fictionally and politically—are the attempts by a Nazi collaborator, an exiled Ukrainian employed by the Germans, to play with the forces of Ukrainian nationalism, in an adventurer's hope that, in the flux of wartime, the Ukraine can be freed of Stalin and shake off the Nazi occupation simultaneously.

Caught in these diverse undercurrents are the people, sullen, suspicious, yet hopeful that the desertion of the city by the NKVD means a respite from tyranny. The Nazi program of brutality quickly replaces that of the Stalinists, and the people are subjected to successive waves of terror from East and West. It is this stark depiction of a people caught between totalitarian forces which gives the "Time of the Assassins" its forcefulness, and makes it not only

a literary—but also a political—event of real significance.

Blunden's book has scenes of terror which can equal those of any presented in the novels depicting the Second World War.

There are also weaknesses in the novel, which are particularly apparent in the presentation of some leading characters. Dr. Karandash, the Nazi collaborator, is, in the nature of his activities, an ambiguous figure. Yet his ambiguity is not always under the control of the author. At times Dr. Karandash seems to speak for the author, at other times he plunges, without noticeable motivation, into a short-hand analysis of Stalinism which sounds like second-hand Trotsky. And, in a cryptic anti-climax, he is revealed as having been an anarchist in his youth. Similarly, the young girl Sophia, who innately hates Stalin, is somewhat overly-precocious in her capacity to provide political analysis.

These defects, however, do not undermine the importance of "The Time of Assassins." Until we have the work of a free Russian writer dealing with this era, "The Time of the Assassins" may well remain the most revealing study of life under the Stalin dictatorship.

HERMAN SINGER

A Look At E. Peron

BLOODY PRECEDENT. By Fleur Cowles. Random House. \$3.75.

Fleur Cowles, associate editor of Look and Quick Magazines, is undoubtedly a very clever woman and a good writer for the slicks but she is no great shakes as a historian. Her book, "Bloody Precedent" demonstrates that. The book is a good example of the adage that those who stay in a foreign country a week write a book; those who stay a month, write a magazine article; and those who stay a year, write nothing.

Mrs. Cowles visited Argentina in July, 1950, with a group of thirty-five editors and publishers. During her brief stay in Buenos Aires she saw dictator Peron and his wife Evita at the reception which the former gave for the visiting publicists. In addition, she had an opportunity to study Evita at closer range, when the latter arranged for Mrs. Cowles to accompany her on her round of duties. Mrs. Cowles also saw and spoke with both adherents and opponents of the Perons. This visit was the starting point of her book.

That Mrs. Cowles should have been struck by the similarity between the Peron dictatorship and that of Rosas' of one hundred years ago is not at all strange. After all, dictatorships do have common ingredients. Her hatred of dictatorship does her credit and her profiles of Peron and Evita—they constitute the best part of her book—reveal an able reporter.

Mrs. Cowles' aim, however, did not consist in exposing the Peron

dictatorship nor in giving us a picture of Evita. In "Bloody Precedent" she tries to prove that history has staged a repeat performance; that just as one hundred years ago a husband and wife team made up of Juan and Encarnacion Rosas held Argentina in their dictatorial grip, so today another husband and wife team, Juan and Evita Peron, rule dictatorially. Moreover, in the opinion of Mrs. Cowles, neither Rosas nor Peron could have reached his goal without the help of his spouse.

Mrs. Cowles is, of course, entitled to her angle, questionable as it may be historically, but she has no right to give us a book that is full of factual errors. The book shows both careless editing and slipshod proofreading. Sometimes it is hard to decide whether a particular error is due to faulty proofreading or ignorance. Good editing could at least have caught some of the contradictory statements.

S. FANNY SIMON

Calling The Shots

Socialists And Titoists

By HERMAN SINGER

Life magazine, which has shown a tendency to accept the view that a public figure has only to be strong to be worthy of glorification, in its May 12 issue concludes a segment of the autobiography of Marshal Tito, which is scheduled for publication in the Fall. Sections of the material which Tito permitted to be published under his name are of considerable historical value, particularly the descriptions of the methods used by the Kremlin to make Yugoslavia an integral part of the economic master plan of the Soviet Union.

While they no longer have the element of novelty, the techniques—which are reminiscent of Nazi methods—throw a light on the means that the Kremlin is employing in its satellite countries toward the end of tying them firmly to the autarchic designs of the Soviet Union.

Other sections of the Tito revelations light up the political mentality of the Yugoslavian leader. Tito has had four years during which to assimilate a unique experience: His country was excommunicated by the Kremlin, and he has survived to write his account of the event. It should be noted, perhaps, that Tito does report that the expulsion, while it had its origin in subterranean differences between Stalin and himself, came as a surprise to the Yugoslavian leader who, apparently, would have continued to cooperate indefinitely with the Soviet dictator if the latter had not been so impatient an ally. Tito's expulsion from the Cominform was initiated by Stalin; it was no act of defiance by Tito.

This fact clarifies Tito's current attitudes, which seem to indicate that not even the most fearsome abuse from the Kremlin can strip its victims of a belief in some essential elements of Stalinism. One of these is the apparent feeling that political dissidence is itself an automatic crime against the regime, and that a normal response, subject to no qualification, is imprisonment or death.

Tito asserts that such sentences were meted out only to Nazi collaborators, yet it is clear that the Yugoslav Marshal feels that it is punishment fit for any one who might prove a "danger to national unity." The fact that there are still many political prisoners in Yugoslav jails proves that this is an article of faith with the dictator.

Similarly, Tito reveals that, despite his assertion that the independence of Yugoslavia was always close to his heart, as a man who owed his eminence to Stalin, he had no compunction about signing a twenty-year treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union, which meant, in effect, that the Yugoslav economy would be put on Moscow time.

The ideological hold of Stalinism still plays such a part that it is even difficult for the Tito regime to introduce its National Economic Plan without a sidelong glance at the Soviet variety of planning. A recent issue of the Yugoslav publication in English, Review of International Affairs, points out that, under Tito, plans are actually altered in response to discussion in the trade unions, cooperatives and other organizations. Unfortunately, the article describing this development is replete with phrases on the "indices of minimum utilization of capacity," but lacks specific figures. This has a rather familiar ring.

In view of Tito's reluctance to break decisively with Stalinism by accepting basic democracy, it is surprising to read that officials of the British Labor Party and the French Socialist Party have recently been holding conferences with Tito's lieutenants, with the possibility that some sort of unofficial rapprochement is being considered. It has been argued, in the United States, that American military aid to Yugoslavia should not be hedged about with demands for changes in the Tito regime. The army, quite correctly, notes that it is not equipped to argue the case for democratic reforms.

This is a restriction which, while familiar in American military circles, hardly applies to Socialists. Their task remains that of insisting that Tito can best show his independence of Stalinism by releasing the forces of democracy in Yugoslavia. This might prove too heady a tonic for Tito, but it would certainly invigorate the people of Yugoslavia, and probably provide the spirit which would make it possible for them to stand up against an attack from the East, if it should come.

Will 'Savings' Save The Day For Capitalism In A Crisis?

By CHARLES TAIBI

(Charles Taibi is a regular contributor to the SOCIALIST CALL.)

A recent issue of the C.I.O.'s Economic Outlook does an excellent job of exposing the fallacy of rising "savings" that Government and business statisticians have attempted to foist upon the public, recently.

Economic Outlook points out that the 17 billion dollars of "personal savings" accumulated in 1951 consist of 60 per cent "cash and securities" and 40 per cent "other items." The "other items" consisted of the following:

1. Insurance and pension fund increases.
2. Consumer debt repayment.
3. Investment in non-business real property.
4. Investment in unincorporated businesses and farms.

It can be seen quite readily that 7 billion dollars of total "personal savings" lack the main characteristic of savings as the term is understood ordinarily: **liquidity**. Some of these items could be converted into cash, though probably with some difficulty and at a loss.

But some of the items — increases in pension funds most notably — are savings only in a delayed-action sense and are in no way convertible into cash. And the item, "paid on consumer debts," is simply payment of past expenditures out of current income, which is not saving in any sense of that much-abused word.

The cash and securities group of items, which amounts to about 10 billion dollars, is somewhat closer to the general conception of "savings." But, even so, it has components which cannot be considered pure savings, for it consists of the cash accounts of 3,500,000 unincorporated businesses (which may or may not be savings and, in the main, are not savings), cash "carry-over" to meet costs incurred at relatively long periodic intervals (cash to meet a quarterly or semi-annual mortgage and interest payment would be an example), and, FINALLY, real, honest-to-goodness savings! And such savings, quite naturally under capitalism, are distributed so that they are held by relatively few people.

So the visions the doctored figures probably are meant to evoke—heavy buying of "heavier" consumers' goods — are more nearly illusory than they are realistic estimates.

HOW IT'S DISTRIBUTED

The distribution pattern of "liquid assets" of low and middle income families—the group with the highest tendency to consume—shows how much of a cushion against unforeseen emergencies the much touted man-in-the-street really has stowed away and helps put the inflated savings figures into perspective:

1. In the \$3,000-\$3,999 bracket, the average savings were \$250.
2. In the \$2,000-\$2,999 bracket, the average savings were \$190.
3. In the \$1,000-\$1,999 bracket, the average savings were \$30.
4. And, finally, in the "under \$1,000" bracket, the average savings were **NOTHING**.

The C.I.O. study of savings statistics indicates that the figures have been so doctored that it may prove difficult to use them for economic analysis. However, there are some other factors which have been recorded with more fidelity to statistical

accuracy, and they can tell us a great deal about what has been going on in recent months.

1. Personal disposable income after taxes fell slightly between December, 1950, the beginning of the mobilization period, and the end of 1951. The fact that the decline was slight is not the significant item, but, rather, the fact that personal disposable income did not rise.

2. Manufacturing employment suffered a net decline of 250,000 in the same period. Durable goods manufacturing industries, though stimulated by defense expenditures, hired only 30,000 more workers—but nondurable goods manufacturing industries were operating with 280,000 less workers.

3. The volume of installment credit was held about constant. This is attributed largely to Regulation "W," which set restrictions on installment sales. But now we will have the opportunity to see whether it was mostly Regulation "W" or spotty-to-soft demand for many consumers' goods which was responsible.

However, if it develops at the same time that personal disposable income after taxes continues to decline, we may see a spurt in installment buying. But, in that case, it will not be a healthy development.

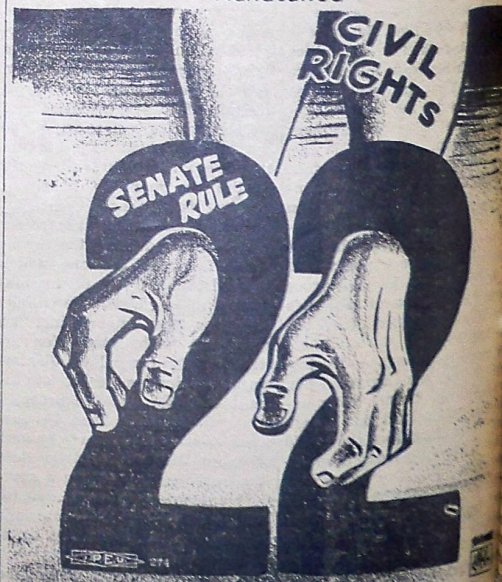
4. Inflationary tendencies seem to be slowing down, but it is true that "stabilization" is taking place at higher levels than are wages and the general run of salaries. Here, again, it is a matter of the situation perhaps not

getting worse. There seems to be little hope of genuine improvement.

This brings up what may prove to be a significant question: Since it seems that defense spending is not providing much of a stimulus to economic activity—or, else, is setting up almost as many blocks as it is setting up stimuli—might we not be faced with the paradox of having defense spending going off and economic activity increasing?

At this point, the question seems to be one with some basis in present trends. What will really happen is anybody's guess, especially since there is no possibility of a complete cessation of defense spending. The situation theoretically may be taken over by the incomes liberated from stiffer income tax rates, but the outbreak of peace which would make possible a lessening of Government expenditures might cause enough unemployment to start a deflationary spiral built-in acceleration.

Only utopians bank upon "automatic adjustment." Where are the plans for action against a day when defense spending slopes off, as it will in a couple of years, whether or not peace breaks out?

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LIFE OF THE PARTY

CALIFORNIA

meeting of the State Executive Committee was held at Party headquarters in Oakland on Sunday, May 10. Delegates from all parts of the state were present for discussion of the campaign, the state newspaper the Socialist, the court case to try to get the Party on the ballot in California and other items. State Chairman William Briggs presided.

An interracial workshop was held on Saturday, May 10, at the Mason Church in Berkeley under the sponsorship of the Committee on Rights of Local East Bay, Socialist Party, and the National Council. Other projects on which the local working deal primarily with the state of local candidates in the fall election. Information can be secured from the Party Office, 6025 Adeline, Oakland 8.

Los Angeles. Information concerning the Los Angeles area can be secured from the Party office, 1904 Arlington, Los Angeles.

COLORADO

The Socialist Open Forum was the second Wednesday of every month at the Englewood Junior High School at 8 p.m. Membership meetings were held the fourth Tuesday of the month at 2882 Clermont Avenue. Information concerning the Party can be secured from P.O. Box 775, Denver.

IDAHO

CALL promotion drive is the main emphasis of the Party. Includes the plan to put the CALL in libraries and other reading rooms throughout the state.

ILLINOIS

The greater Chicago Branch is continuing its series of pre-convention discussion meetings. On May 12, resolutions were submitted for consideration by the national convention. At the April 14 discussion, a unanimous resolution was passed calling for continuation of national electoral campaigns.

Information placed on the mailing list for inquiry, monthly bulletin of activities and ideas, write to 15, Evanston.

MASSACHUSETTS

Leo Leopold was rejected state chairman and Julius Bernstein state secretary at the annual state convention on May 5 in Dorchester, Mass. The State Executive Committee members: Arthur Bernstein, Roxbury; Winant, Boston; Walter Konrad, Easthampton; Leo Leopold, Easthampton; Julius Bernstein, Jamaica Plain; Samuel Levin, Boston; and Saul Friedman, Dorchester.

The Socialist Party of Massachusetts is sponsoring a Charlie Chaplin Festival on Saturday night, May 17, 8:15 p.m. The affair will be held at the Workers' Circle Center, Adams.

mission will be 60c and funds will be used for benefit of a travel fund for delegates to the national convention.

To be placed on the mailing list for the state bulletin, The Party, write to Box 132, Essex Station, Boston 12.

MICHIGAN

Information concerning Party activities can be secured from the Party office, 8751 Grand River.

MINNESOTA

Information concerning activities can be secured from 2008 Fairmount Ave., St. Paul, c/o Sibley.

NEW JERSEY

For information concerning activities in the state, write to Box 812, Newark 1, N. J.

Canden Branch meets weekly at 604 Edgewood Avenue, Audubon, at 8:15 p.m. on Thursdays. Information concerning activities in the area can be secured from the same address. Interesting discussions on Socialist philosophy and current events are held. All are welcome. For further information, call Audubon 5-4820.

NEW YORK

The recent meeting of the State Committee called for a New York state convention to be held in Schenectady on June 28-29. For information, write to Samuel H. Friedman, 209 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y., or Frank Blood, 2151 Plaza, Schenectady.

New York. A meeting of the Party Committee of Local New York will be held in the city office on Tuesday, May 20, at 7 p.m. All interested members are welcome.

Delegates and alternates to the convention who are going by car are urged to call Phyllis Gangel at GR 5-6621. Others are looking for rides in exchange for sharing expenses.

OHIO

Akron. Akron Local will hold a pre-convention discussion meeting on Friday, May 23, at 8 p.m. at the home of Ben Baranoff, 366 Bacon Ave.

Information concerning state activities may be secured from state secretary Gaby Kolko, P.O. Box 26, Maple Valley Station, Akron 20. A state convention has been scheduled for June 29.

OREGON

Information about state activities can be secured from Box 154, Brooks, Oregon.

PENNSYLVANIA

Berks Co. The Executive Committee of Local Berks will meet on Thursday, May 15, at 8 p.m. at the Labor Lyceum.

First picnic of the 1952 summer season will be held on Sunday, June 15, Father's Day. All are welcome, and people willing to work at the Park should get in touch with members of the Committee at once.

WISCONSIN

For information concerning state activities, write to the Party office, 536 Juneau, Milwaukee.

Report From England

Labor Continues Sweep In Municipal Elections

By KENNETH C. RATHBONE
(SOCIALIST CALL Correspondent)

MANCHESTER—Hundreds of Conservative councillors have been swept out of office in the British municipal elections by angry electors who are disillusioned after only six months of Conservative misgovernment, broken promises and reactionary policies.

Labor gained seats everywhere. In big cities and small towns, in industrial areas and in agricultural districts, even in such Conservative strongholds as seaside resorts.

In the 392 English and Welsh cities and boroughs Labor gained 662 seats and lost only 15. Most of the Labor gains were from Conservatives who lost 472 seats.

Labor gained control of 27 more cities and towns and retained, generally with increased majorities, the 74 it already controlled. In others Labor became the largest single party but lacking an overall majority or reduced Conservative majorities very substantially.

Towns where Labor gained control are: Birmingham, Bolton, Bootle, Bradford, Bristol, Doncaster, Dudley, Leicester, Preston, South Shields, Wolverhampton, Ashton-under-Lyne, Barry, Bridgewater, Colne, Davenport, Dukinfield, Eccles, Mitcham, Pontefract, Queenborough, Rawtenstall, Rorford, Slough, Swindon, Widnes, and Wood Green.

In Scotland Labor gained 74 seats and lost three. They regained control of Glasgow, lost three years ago, and now have a city council majority of 11. The Labor vote in Glasgow jumped from 105,906 last year to 198,142 this year.

Control was also won in Aberdeen, Port Glasgow and Denny.

Labor has also gained more than 400 seats in the smaller rural and urban district councils of England and Wales in elections which have been held during the same period.

With these latest results added to the recent county council defeats the Conservative Party is in rather a sad and sorry state just now.

Cautious Conservatives, including many Government ministers, seem inclined to go warily in view of this display of public disfavor, but they are being pushed along and gingered up by the reactionary Right-wingers, who want a full-blooded Tory capitalist policy whatever the consequences.

The Government's legislative program in Parliament is behind schedule, and has been thrown into some confusion and delay by really skilful Labor opposition not by cheap filibustering. Non-socialists have admitted that Labor leaders and back benchers have shown that their knowledge of Parliamentary procedure is superior to that of the Conservatives.

And Conservative troubles will really increase as the public sees through their scheme to denationalize road transport. They propose to sell back lorries to private enterprise for the price of the vehicles only with no charge for goodwill for which the private owners were compensated when they were nationalized. This means the tax-

payer will lose about £30,000,000 on the deal.

They may also have difficulty in finding private enterprisers who will buy in view of the Labor announcement that when Labor nationalizes the industry again they will take this into account when fixing compensation payments.

GERMAN ARMING

The Labor Party demand that German rearmament should be postponed until after a four-power conference on Germany, and if that fails until after a West German election to sanction it, is a first step towards the end of a bi-partisan British foreign policy.

This decision was made by the national executive committee after a delegation had attended a joint meeting at Bonn with German and French Socialists. It was made by a large majority. Some Right-wingers, including Herbert Morrison the ex-Foreign Secretary, are personally opposed to this decision, but they will bow to a democratic decision.

Angry Conservatives and Anti-Laborites of all kinds are trying to accuse Labor leaders of reversing a policy they followed when in power. But the reply is that the situation has changed and that Labor's provisional approval of Western German rearmament was based on conditions which have not been fulfilled.

These include: NATO powers to have precedence over Germany in building up their armaments, German units to be so integrated in a European force as to prevent any renewed German military menace, and that West German rearmament should go ahead only with the approval of Germans, which could be shown only in a new election.

Labor would not be a party to handing Germany over to Russia, but it is felt that the Russians have made proposals which should be tested in a conference before any steps are taken which might make German unity impossible without civil or world war.

S.H. Friedman Honored At May Day Dinner



Samuel H. Friedman, chairman of the New York local of the Socialist Party, was honored by many comrades and friends at the annual May Day dinner sponsored by the Local at the Hotel Brevoort.

Paying tribute to Friedman's thirty-five years of vigorous and unceasing activity on behalf of socialism, speakers hailed his contribution to the cause of labor and civil rights.

National Secretary Robin Myers presented the guest of honor with a watch and chain, the gift of Local New York.

Speakers included Benjamin McLaurin, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A.F.L., and Emanuel Nowogrudsky, secretary of the Jewish Socialist Bund.

Mass. Socialists Urge 1952 National Campaign

By LEO LEOPOLD
(SOCIALIST CALL)

BOSTON—The waging of a vigorous 1952 Socialist presidential campaign was endorsed by State Socialists here in a recent convention resolution pledged support in the difficult task of securing a place for the Party's nominees on the ballot of as many New England states as possible.

At the annual session, the convention of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts pledged resources to the campaign by unanimous approval by the dele-

board composed of public, labor, and consumer representatives.

Boston's Metropolitan Transit Authority, whose fare won a Democratic governor Paul Dever reelection because of a threat that the Republicans would raise the fare, only to raise it himself a like amount two weeks after election, was the subject of a demand by the convention for state ownership and coordination with other transit facilities in the state in order to wipe out the debt.

Elected to the State Executive Committee were Peter Winant of Boston, Dr. Henry Fine of Dorchester, Walter Konrad of Jamaica Plains, Arthur Bernstein of Roxbury, and Saul Friedman of Dorchester. Also serving on the committee will be Julius Bernstein of Jamaica Plains, elected State Secretary, and Leo Leopold of Easthampton, elected State Chairman.

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A Labor Paper Looks At 'Creeping Socialism'

It has become the fashion among foes of social progress to decry as "creeping socialism" all government spending calculated to promote the people's well-being. Unemployment insurance, old age pensions, health insurance plans and social security in general—in fact, all departures from established custom such as thinking people have got to look upon as necessary adjustments to our changing "free enterprise" system are roundly being denounced as "creeping socialism."

In his book "The Road Ahead," John T. Flynn, a New Dealer that crawled, goes a step further and denounces all social legislation as "America's creeping revolution." Passages from Flynn's book have been generously quoted in big business publications, such as those of the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, the Committee for Constitutional Government, as well as in daily papers and in the weekly magazines, and Westbrook Pegler seems to think that Flynn's brain child is a real economic masterpiece.

The socialist scarecrow is ever being dangled before the eyes of the American people in the press, and the radio never tires of dinning into our ears the alleged dangers of government spending. Socialism is getting a great deal of free advertising by those who pretend to hate and fear it.

TURN BACK THE CLOCK

It goes without saying that all this hullabaloo about "creeping socialism" has for its sole purpose to stymie and defeat protective legislation, for which there is a pressing need among the American people, and to turn back the clock of social progress. But big business is less jittery about "creeping socialism" whenever it sees in it an opportunity for profit, instances of which were recently cited by Drew Pearson in his column.

It seems that Gov. J. Bracken Lee of Utah recently denounced government spending as "creeping socialism," and he urged that it be halted. Pearson reminds Gov. Lee that big business might "squawk to high heaven" if "creeping socialism" should be stopped, and he cited a number of instances of its yielding lush profits for business in the State of Utah.

He mentioned the case of a steel mill in Geneva sponsored and financed by the federal government, which by Gov. Lee's own admission had

proved a great stimulant to Salt Lake City's business and had served greatly to increase that town's population.

The steel plant had cost the taxpayers of this country \$191,326,000, but it was sold to the U.S. Steel Corporation for the paltry sum of only \$47,175,000, or about 20 cents on a dollar, thus leaving a juicy profit for the big steel monopoly.

Pearson further calls to Gov. Lee's attention that Utah, as an inland state, greatly benefits from quick airline transportation, and that the airlines enjoy an annual subsidy of \$95,000,000 through "creeping socialism," and "on top of this they get the advantage of 70,000 miles of airlines serviced by radio stations, beacons and traffic controls, all paid for by the federal government."

He then goes on to say that the airlines have become big business through "creeping socialism," and that big business would be first to howl if "creeping socialism" were stopped.

SHIP OWNERS COLLECT

Another big-business group that greatly benefits from "creeping socialism," Pearson tells us, are America's big shipowners, which enjoy the benefit of an annual operating subsidy from the federal government of \$30,000,000, and "on top of this the United States Lines last year got a construction subsidy of \$18,225,000 plus an indirect subsidy of \$24,061,000 for national defense in building the new vessel, the United States."

Then he mentions half a billion in federal subsidies paid to states for the promotion of highway building, and he concludes with saying that if these subsidies were discontinued, "every bus line, trucking company, and many private motorists would be at the door of Congress in about 24 hours demanding that "creeping socialism" for the highways be reinstated."

We thus see that the vast campaign of publicity which has been carried on by big business for the past several years and in which government spending is being denounced as "creeping socialism," is largely being motivated, not by any concern about the people's welfare, but by selfishness and hypocrisy.

Government spending becomes "creeping socialism" only when it is intended to make life more comfortable for the people, not when it means more profits for special interests and the rich.

(Catering Industry Employee, AFL)

Batista Coup Threatens Cuba's Free Trade Unions

By ROBERT J. ALEXANDER

(Robert J. Alexander, author of "The Peron Era," spent a week in Cuba immediately after Batista's coup.)

On the morning of March 10, Cuban citizens awoke to find that during the night their democratically elected government had been overthrown by the armed forces, led by ex-President General Fulgencio Batista. The immediate reaction of the Confederation of workers of Cuba (C.T.C.) was to call a general strike in protest against the coup d'etat and in defense of the country's democracy.

However, the Confederation was finally forced to call off the strike late on the night of March 10 when no other group rallied to the support of the deposed government of President Carlos Prío Socarras.

The revolt of General Batista occurred in spite of the fact that Cuba was scheduled to have presidential and congressional elections on June 1. General Batista himself was a candidate, though it was generally agreed that he had no chance to become President once again.

The likely victor was either the outgoing government's candidate, Carlos Hevia, or the nominee of the largest opposition party, the Ortodoxos, Dr. Roberto Agramonte.

A FORMER DICTATOR

General Batista is no stranger to the Cuban workers and citizenry. For eleven years he ruled as dictator of the island republic, only leaving office in 1944 when faced with the overwhelming electoral defeat of the man he had chosen to succeed himself as President of the Republic. In recent years he had been a Senator of the republic and his brother is Governor of the Province of Havana.

During his first period as master of Cuba, Batista had not endeared himself to the workers of the Republic. For half a decade he kept in power governments which were strongly anti-labor and suppressed the trade union movement. There were several notable clashes between the organized workers and the regimes sponsored and kept in power by General Batista.

The most notable of these was the general strike of March 1935, which Batista suppressed with fire and sword—and which was commemorated only five days before the most recent Batista coup, by a meeting in the Central Park of Havana under the sponsorship of the Confederation of Workers of Cuba.

When in 1938 Batista finally decided that he would have to make his peace with the labor movement, he chose the Communists as his agents among the workers. He gave them a completely free hand to organize unions under their control.

He virtually turned the Ministry of Labor over to the Communists, whose party was known successively as the Union Revolucionaria Comunista and Partido Socialista Popular. So strongly entrenched did the Communists become in the labor movement that it was not until three years after the end of the Batista regime that the Confederation of Workers of Cuba was finally able to throw off the control of the Communist leader Lazaro Pena and his cohorts.

TRADE UNIONS GROW

During the last five years the labor movement has thrived under democratic leadership. The Communists seceded from the C.T.C. in the summer of 1947,

forming a rival group which they also called C.T.C.—until a decision of the Tribunal of Constitutional Guarantees early in March 1952 finally decided that only the genuine C.T.C. had the right to use the name, and forbade the Communists to use it.

Since the ousting of the Communists, the C.T.C. and its affiliated federations and unions (known as "sindicatos") have been run by a group of leaders of various political orientations, but in which followers of the Auténtico Party of President Prío Socarras predominated.

The C.T.C. has grown into the most powerful labor movement in Latin America. It claims over eight hundred thousand members, organized into thirty-three national industrial federations.

Among the workers who are organized in these federations are the sugar workers who labor in the country's basic industry, virtually all transportation workers, including railroaders, maritime workers, bus and trolley drivers and taximen.

The various unions and federations have gained collective bargaining contracts with their employers which are among the best in the hemisphere. In recent years the federations have also begun the organization of various cooperative services such as credit unions, vacation homes and similar institutions.

The Cuban labor movement has thrived because during the last seven years it has enjoyed one of the freest political atmospheres in the Americas. The governments of Presidents Grau San Martín and Carlos Prío Socarras, whatever may have been their weaknesses, were exceedingly sympathetic to labor, and gave the unions the greatest freedom of operation.

There was no restriction on the right to strike, and there were several notable walkouts in recent years, including one of the aviation employees a year and a half ago. Particularly under President Prío the government had avoided interfering in the internal affairs of the unions. The Ministry of Labor had consistently had a sympathetic ear for all of the grievances and wishes of organized labor.

It was this state of things which was put in jeopardy when the government of President Prío was overthrown on March 10.

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